

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 L-03
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INRE-00 CU-04 HA-05 COME-00 /085 W
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O R 172055Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4529
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
RUFHROAMEMBASSY ROME 1983
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
USMISSION GENEVA

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, JANUARY 17
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SUMMARY: SOVIETS SURPRISED RESUMED MEETING BY INTRODUCING
SHORT, FAIRLY GENERAL DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WHICH
NONETHELESS CONTAINS HEART OF THEIR PROPOSALS AND NOTHING
OF WESTERN PROPOSALS. THEY URGED THAT MEETING CONCENTRATE
ON THIS DRAFT IN ORDER TO COMPLETE WORK BY MID-FEBRUARY.
WESTERN REPS, LED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND EC-9 REP,

REBUTTED THAT BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD PRODUCE SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT THAT TOOK ACCOUNT OF REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND SPECIFIC NEW PROPOSALS AND INCLUDED APPROPRIATE REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS. SOVIETS HAVE NOT INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT WORK MUST CEASE ON OTHER PROPOSALS. IN FACT, THEIR INITIAL TACTICS IN WORKING BODIES UK WERE SURPRISINGLY INCONSISTENT. IN BASKET TWO THEY DID INSIST THAT WORK ON ANYTHING BUT SOVIET DRAFT WAS POINTLESS. IN BASKET THREE THEY URGED THAT WORKING GROUP FOCUS ON THEIR PAPER BUT WENT ALONG WITH DISCUSSION OF OTHER PROPOSALS. IN CBMS THEY MADE NO EFFORT TO TURN BODY TO CONSIDERATION OF THEIR LANGUAGE EVEN THOUGH OTHER REPS CONTINUED TO WORK ON BASIS OF DETAILED WESTERN PROPOSALS, AND IN DG6 THEY MILDLY SUGGESTED THAT SOME NEW SOVIET LANGUAGE WAS PREFERABLE TO NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE ON FACTUAL DESCRIPTION OF MEETING, BUT THEY DID NOT INSIST ON SUBSTITUTION. END SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY -- SOVIET REP VORONTSOV, CITING NEED FOR MEETING TO CONCLUDE BY MID-FEBRUARY, INTRODUCED THREE-PAGE DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS COMPROMISE EFFORT TO COVER MAIN POINTS OF MEETING WHILE DROPPING NEW PROPOSALS ON WHICH AGREEMENT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE (TEXT SEPTEL). SOVIET DRAFT, HOWEVER, CONTAINS MAIN ELEMENTS OF MAJOR EASTERN PROPOSALS INCLUDING SPECIAL SECURITY CONSULTATIONS AND BREZHNEV LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BASKET TWO CONFERENCES WHILE DROPPING ALL MAIN WESTERN PROPOSALS AND IGNORING ALL REFERENCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS. ONLY POSITIVE SURPRISE IN DRAFT IS ACCEPTANCE OF MADRID AS SITE FOR LATE-1980 FOLLOW-UP MEETING.

2. WESTERN SPEAKERS, LED BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH REP ON BEHALF OF EC-9, CALLED FOR MEETING TO CONCENTRATE ON DRAFTING A MORE SUBSTANTIVE, BALANCED CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT WOULD MEET WESTERN PUBLIC'S DESIRE TO SEE MEETING PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS IF DETENTE IS NOT TO SUFFER. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG EMPHASIZED THAT SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT SHOULD CONTAIN HONEST REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE AND APPROPRIATE REFERENCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOM (TEXT OF STATEMENT SEPTEL). ROMANIAN REP BROKE WITH OTHERWISE SOLID WARSAW PACT SUPPORT FOR SOVIET PROPOSAL, CALLING FOR MEETING TO DRAFT "POLITICAL, SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT" INCLUDING CONCRETE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT FINAL ACT. FRG REP INDICATED NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING SHOULD BE AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

3. DG6 -- THIS DRAFTING GROUP, WHICH IS CHARGED WITH

DEVELOPING GENERAL POLITICAL LANGUAGE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, OCCUPIED ITSELF WITH TEDIOUS EXAMINATION OF FIRST EIGHT PARAS OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED PAPER, BM/65, DEALING WITH FACTUAL DESCRIPTION OF BELGRADE MEETING. SESSION PRODUCED NO MOVEMENT FROM POSITIONS DELS HAD TAKEN BEFORE RECESS. SOVIETS CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT DRAFTING GROUP MUST AGREE TO INDICATE THAT MEETING WILL END IN FEBRUARY, ARGUING THAT YELLOW BOOK ADMITS NO OTHER POSSIBILITY. PORTUGUESE REP SAID FEBRUARY WOULD HAVE TO BE BRACKETED. SOVIETS SUGGESTED THAT LANGUAGE FROM THEIR NEW DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED LANGUAGE, BUT THEY APPEARED WILLING TO CONTINUE TO DRAFT AT LEAST THIS PART OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ON BASIS OF BM/65 RATHER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAN INSIST ON SUBSTITUTING THEIR OWN PROPSAL.

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4. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIES (EXCEPTING FRANCE) IN CBMS CAUCUS THAT NEED FOR CIRCULATION OF ALLIED SYNTHESIS PAPER ON CBMS, AS VEHICLE FOR CANALIZING EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE DETAILED AGREEMENT IN CBMS AREA, WAS MORE URGENT THAN EVER IN LIGHT OF SOVIET TABLING OF BRIEF DRAFT CONCLUDING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DOCUMENT. SEVERAL DELS URGED US TO TRY TO GET WASHINGTON'S AGREEMENT TO CIRCULATE SYNTHESIS BEFORE AFTERNOON DRAFTING GROUP MEETING JANUARY 18.

5. US REP OPENED DRAFTING GROUP MEETING BY REVIEWING WORK ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE RECESS, RESTATING GERNAL US APPROACH TO PROPOSALS BEFORE CONFERENCE, AND CALLING ON ALL DELS TO TAKE PENCIL IN HAND TO FING LANGUAGE TONAXPRESS AGREEMENT ON THOSE PR700SLAS GE WHICH AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED. IN IMPLICIT REFERENCE TO SOVIET DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, HE REJECTED AS INCONSISTENT WITH BELGRADE MANDATE AND UNACCEPTABLE TO PUBLIC OPINION IN PARTICIPATING STATES IDEA OF DEFERRING TO SOME OTHER CONSULTATIONS CONSIDERATION OF SECURITY PROPOSALS ALREADY TABLED HERE.

6. UK REP THEN INTRODUCED COMPOSITE OF ALLIED (BM 11) AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (BM 6) PROPOSALS ON TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS EARLIER ENDORSED BY NATO CBMS CAUCUS (TEXT SEPTTEL). COMPOSITE TEXT DREW STATEMENTS OF AT LEAST PRELIMINARY SUPPORT DELS FROM SWITZERLAND, AUSTRIA, SWEDEN AND YUGOSLAVIA. SOVIET REP'S ARGUMENT THAT PROPOSAL WOULD CONSTITUTE AMENDMENT TO FINAL ACT AND WAS THEREFORE UNACCEPTABLE WAS REBUTTED STRONGLY BY LARGE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS. ALTHOUGH DOGGED CANADIAN EFFORTS TO BEGIN LINE-BY-LINE CONSIDERATION OF COMPOSITE WAS FRUSTRATED BY SOVIET DEL, OTHER WARSAW PACT DELS, INCLUDING ROMANIA, REMAINED CONSPICUOUSLY SILENT THROUGHOUT ENTIRE TWO AND A HALF HOUR SESSION.

7. BASKET TWO -- DRAFTING GROUP, AFTER LISTENING TO

SEVERAL WESTERN EXHORTATIONS ON NEED TO WORK DILIGENTLY
AND QUICKLY, WAS TAKEN ABACK BY SOVIET INTERVENTION
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WHICH (A) IDENTIFIED THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AS THE MOST
IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE BELGRADE BASKET TWO WORK, AND
(B) CALLED FOR NO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF NEW PROPOSALS
SINCE THE ESSENTIAL EAST/WEST ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL
DIFFERENCES COULD NOT BE BRIDGED. SOVIET REP
STATED THAT WESTERN PROTECTIONISM, INCLUDING
DISCRIMINATION, WAS KEY ISSUE AND THAT HE SAW NO
WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO GIVE ON THIS SCORE. HE THEN
REFERRED DELEGATES TO SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT AND REMARKED THAT A SHORT DOCUMENT WAS ONLY
SOLUTION GIVEN THE STRONG DISAGREEMENT ON NEW PROPOSALS.
ROMANIAN REP, HOWEVER, CALLED FOR A MEANINGFUL
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND SUPPORTED WESTERN POSITION THAT
DRAFTING CONTINUE.

8. BASKET THREE -- SOVIET DEL OPENED WITH POSITION THAT
DRAFTING GROUP COULD BEST PROCEED BY ENDING DISCUSSION
OF NEW PROPOSALS AND ADOPTING ONLY STATEMENT THAT
PARTICIPATING STATES INTEND TO CONTINUE TO EXPAND
COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS IN
ACCORDANCE WITH FINAL ACT PROVISOS. SOVIET DEL
ARGUED THAT LACK OF CONSENSUS, AND FUNDAMENTAL
DIFFERENCES ON MOST PROPOSAL, TOGETHER WITH LIMITED
TIME AVAILABLE, MADE IT FUTILE TO PROCEED ON BASIS OF
EIGHT SYNOPSES CIRCULATED BEFORE RECESS. WESTERN
REPS INSISTED THAT A) WHILE THERE WERE POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT,
THERE WERE SEVERAL POINTS OF AGREEMENT ON NEW
PROPOSALS AND INITIAL POSITIONS ALWAYS CHANGE DURING
DRAFTING PROCESS; B) SHORT, BLAND STATEMENT WOULD
NOT JUSTIFY TIME SPENT AND EXPECTATIONS PUBLIC HAVE
PLACED IN CONFERENCE; AND C) TIME IS NOT LIMITED;
WORK MAY CONTINUE UNTIL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS AGREED
UPON. AFTER BELGIAN REP INSISTED THAT REMAINING TIME
FOR DAY BE SPENT IN INFORMAL SESSION ON EDUCATION NON-
PAPERS, SOVIET DEL AGREED WITH STIPULATION THAT SUCH
DISCUSSION "WILL NOT DEFINE METHOD OF OUR WORK IN
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COMING DAYS." IN BRIEF DISCUSSION, WESTERN REPS
SUGGESTED MINOR ALTERATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAK NON-PAPER
AND SOVIET REP ALSO COMMENTED ON BELGIAN NON-PAPER
WMIA HE REPEATED HAS NO REAL PROSPECT OF FINDING A

PLACE IN CONCLUDING DOCKYENT.
GOLDBERG

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